

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTO 02066

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU

SUBJECT: PRIME MINISTER THORN'S MEEING WITH THE PRESIDENT

1. PRIME MINISTER THORN GAVE ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN A COPY OF THE SPEAKING NOTES HE HAD PREPARED FOR THE MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT ON MAY 29. THORN SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THAT HE HAD COVERED MOST OF THE MATERIAL IN THE NOTES BUT WANTED THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO HAVE THEM IN CASE HE HAD OMITTED CERTAIN POINTS.

2. THE TEXT OF THE NOTES FOLLOWS.

BEGIN TEXT:

SPEAKING NOTES FOR THE MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE - BRUSSELS, MAY 29, 1975.

THE MEETING GIVES A WELCOME OPPORTUNITY TO RAISE SOME OF THE ISSUES WHICH AT THE PRESENT TIME FACE THE ALLIANCE AND MORE SPECIFICALLY THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.

1. THE MOST BASIC ISSUE AND, FORTUNATELY ALSO THE LEAST CONTROVERSIAL, IS THAT OF OUR CONTINUED, RECIPROCAL COMMITMENT TO A COMMON DEFENCE. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT,

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AFTER THE FRUSTRATING EXPERIENCE OF VIETNAM, THIS COMMITMENT

SHOULD BE SHOWN TO BE ALIVE AND INTACT. THIS COMMITMENT GOES FAR BEYOND A MERE ALLIANCE OF INTERESTS; IT IS OR SHOULD BE ROOTED IN THE COMMON BELIEF IN CERTAIN BASIC DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PRINCIPLES; IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES ARE ENTRUSTED TO INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES, THAT THEY SHARE QUITE SPECIFIC INTERESTS; IN THE COMMON WILL TO MEET THESE CHALLENGES CONSTRUCTIVELY AND GENEROUSLY.

2. IT IS AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THIS ESSENTIAL SOLIDARITY OF PURPOSE THAT THE PROBLEMS THAT CONFRONT US MUST BE VIEWED. THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THESE IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. THE PAST YEAR HAS SEEN SOME GENUINE IMPROVEMENTS, NOTABLY IN THE PROCEDURES FOR MUTUAL INFORMATION AND CONSULTATION ABOUT MAJOR DIPLO-MATIC MOVES. BUT IS STILL TOO OFTEN THE CASE THAT DEVELOPMENTS, EVEN POSITIVE ONES, ARE IMPOSED BY OUTSIDE EVENTS, THAT PROGRESS ONLY FEEDS ON CRISIS.

THIS IS NOT THE BEST WAY TO PROCEED: IT IS NOT RATIONAL IT IS PIECEMEAL, IT IS NOT CONDUCTIVE TO CONFIDENCE AND TRUST.

3. WHAT WE NEED IS A GLOBAL APPROACH WHICH WOULD BE BASED ON A FEW IMPORTANT PREMISES:

1) FOR THE VERY FUNDAMENTAL REASONS OUTLINED ABOVE THERE IS A BASIC SOLIDARITY OF PURPOSE AMONG ATLANTIC PARTNERS WHICH GOES BEYOND THE MERE ADDI-TION OF BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. THIS SOLIDARITY TRANSCENDS THE COMMON SECURITY INTERESTS, BUT IS PARTICULARLY VISIBLE THERE.

2) AN ECONOMICALLY INTEGRATED EUROPE WILL NOT AUTOMATI-CALLY MOVE TO A POLITICALLY UNITED EUROPE. BUT IT MOST DO SO, BECAUSE ONLY A POLITICALLY UNITED EUROPE CAN PROVIDE THE ALTERNATIVE TO UNCONTROLLABLE NATIO-NALISM (GERMANY). ONLY A POLITICALLY UNITED EUROPE CAN BE AN EFFECTIVE PILLAR IN THE ALLIANCE, NOT JUST AN ADVANCED BASTION. ONLY A UNITED EUROPE CAN BE A USEFUL ACTOR ON THE WORLD SCENE.

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3) EUROPE INEVITABLY HAS, THROUGH ITS GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION, ITS ECONOMIC STRUCTURE, ITS PARTICULAR INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS, ITS HEAVY RELIANCE ON FOREIGN TRADE, INTERESTS THAT ARE DIFFERENT OR ARE AT LEAST PERCEIVED DIFFERENTLY FROM THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES. THESE INTERESTS ARE SUFFICIENTLY IMPORTANT TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. OTHERWISE THEY WILL BE A PERMANENT NUI-

SANCE FACTOR. IN ORDER FOR THEM TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, THEY MUST BE GIVEN A CHANCE TO BE FORMULATED. THIS REQUIRES THE (EUROPEAN) INSTITUTIONS TO DO SO: ECONOMIC ALREADY NOW IN EXISTENCE, POLITICAL SOME DAY SOON, DEFENCE LATER.

4) IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR ATLANTIC SOLIDARITY THAT THESE DEVELOPMENTS SHOULD NOT BE SEEN TO TAKE PLACE AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF AMERICAN RELUCTANCE OR EVEN OPPOSITION.

THE AMERICAN POSITION IS CONSTANTLY TAKEN IN ACCOUNT IN WHATEVER THERE IS OF EUROPEAN DECISION MAKING PROCESS. THIS IS IN ITSELF GOOD AND NECESSARY. WHAT IS BAD IS THAT, TOO OFTEN THE EUROPEAN POSITION IS DEFINED, NOT ON ITS OWN MERITS, BUT AS A FRAGILE COMPROMISE BETWEEN PRO- AND ANTI- AMERICANS. THIS THEN TURNS ANY SUBSEQUENT CONSULTATIONS WITH THE AMERICANS THEMSELVES INTO EITHER A RIGID OR A USELESS AFFAIR. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ALL THIS SHOULD NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED.

THE UNITED STATES SHOULD THEREFORE COME OUT STRONGLY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY IN FAVOUR OF EUROPEAN UNIFICATION. EUROPE IN TURN WILL NEED TO SHOW THAT IS WILLING TO CONCERT AND HARMONIZE POSITIONS. ATLANTIC SOLIDARITY AND EUROPEAN UNIFICATION NEED TO MOVE AHEAD IN PARALLEL. THERE MUST BE NO PLAYING OFF ONE AGAINST THE OTHER. EUROPEANS MUST NOT FEEL TO BE TRAPPED IN A DILEMMA WHEN IN REALITY THE TWO THINGS ARE COMPLEMENTARY.

WE HAVE A CHANCE AND DUTY TO ACT NOW. THE END OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN INDOCHINA HAS CLEARED THE WAY FOR A RETURN TO ESSENTIAL PRIORITIES IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. EUROPE WANTS TO BREAK OUT OF ITS INTERNAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SECRET

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DIFFICULTIES AND MOVE AHEAD TO POLITICAL UNION. THE WORLD-WIDE ECONOMIC CRISIS, THE PROBLEMS OF ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS AND IN GENERAL OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE INDUSTRIALIZED AND LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, THE DETENTE WITH THE EAST PRESENT COMMON CHALLENGES WHICH MUST BE MET IN A CONCERTED WAY.

WE MUST MOVE FROM AN ATMOSPHERE OF SUSPICION AND COMPETITION TO ONE OF TRUST AND SERENITY.

END TEXT.
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